

complete the job by crushing the "Socialist" government after its function of proletarian deception is unnecessary. In this process, the counter-revolution must not alone annihilate the Spartacides, but equally the Soviets—precisely as, in Russia, the counter-revolutionary campaign developed from a campaign against the "extreme" Bolsheviks into a campaign against the Soviets. The only answer to this campaign, if the revolutionary masses are not to surrender unconditionally, is "All power to the Soviets!"—the new Socialist state of proletarian dictatorship.

The Ebert-Haase Government is reactionary, and consciously and unconsciously promotes the counter-revolution. It does not act against the bourgeois reaction, while its policy and its very presence encourages counter-revolutionary action against the proletarian masses. The independent Socialists in the Government, willy nilly, are criminal participants in this reaction.

This fact is being appreciated by many independent Socialists, who, together with the masses, are more and more turning to the Spartacus program. Haase's attitude has been bitterly attacked by independent Socialist organs; and this criticism is developing new strength since the events of Friday. A press report says: "A savage onslaught against the majority Socialists and their representatives in the Government has been made by the Independent Socialist organ, and this newspaper's almost enthusiastic defense of the Spartacus Group is construed here as showing that the Ebert-Haase factions are swiftly approaching a break. The 'Vorwaerts' (organ of the Ebert-Scheidemann Socialists) spiritedly attacks the Haase party organ's defense of the Spartacus Group and Liebknecht and for its onslaught on the Ebert-Scheidemann faction, and asks whether the Independents have no sense of their responsibility when they endeavor to excuse Liebknecht's 'vile activities.'"

The decisive struggle for power is coming to a head. Revolutions cannot temporize on this issue: it is either power to the bourgeois Provisional Government or power to the Councils of Workers' Delegates—power to Capitalism, or Socialism. The Ebert-Haase Government will be annihilated—either by the bourgeoisie or by the proletariat. There can be no middle-of-the-road policy in government during a revolution. Nor can there be any middle-road policy for the Soviets, or for Socialism. The Independent Socialists must decide: either accept the Spartacus program of proletarian dictatorship or accept the counter-revolution. Compromise promotes reaction. Life itself determines the issue, and the necessary revolutionary action.

## Sinister Proposals

THE press reports that "five American officers arrived at Coblenz Thursday, and conferred with the Burgmaster, the local German commander, and the railway authorities."

The press reports that "the premature occupation of Coblenz [by American troops] is due to the request of the German authorities, who are apprehensive of the conditions that might prevail there, after the withdrawal of the German forces."

The press reports that "British troops have been hurried to Cologne to maintain order, but the nature of the trouble, or how serious it is, is not stated in the brief unofficial announcement. It is reported that Red forces and their opponents have been rioting and that the situation demands armed British forces."

The occupation of Cologne and Coblenz by the Allied troops is in fulfillment of the armistice terms. The associated governments have not declared any other purpose. But the Boston "Post" in its issue of December 9, in black-face type at the head of its front page, screams:

"American troops have hurried farther into German territory, at the request of the authorities, to protect the German people from themselves. The conquerors are now saviors, holding in check the dragon of Bolshevism which threatens to make chaos of a once mighty empire. In an orderly reconstruction lies the one hope of the Teutonic peoples. Crimes against civilization must be fully expiated, but civilization also hopes that the horror of anarchy may be spared Germany."

And the "American" in its issue of December 9, reports that "the French General Dupont appeared suddenly in the streets of Berlin in an automobile at the height of the street fighting Friday night," and adds: "The arrival of General Dupont in Berlin is regarded here as significant of the Allies' intentions to interfere to restore order in Germany."

Are all these reports evidence of the Allies' intentions to intervene in Germany to crush "the dragon of Bolshevism"? The reports are not at all conclusive. Yet the press jumps ahead of the actual facts: is this simply propaganda or is it prejudgment of the government's intentions?

The press paints a beautiful, idyllic picture of the former enemies uniting against a new enemy, the revolutionary proletariat. Dense and brutal, the press does not realize that, were this a fact, it would be a criminal enormity—an enormity paralleled only by the alliance of the Prussia of Bismarck and the France of the infamous Thiers against the Paris Commune in 1871, when the savagery previously expressed against each other concentrated in the terrific storm that beat mercilessly upon the devoted heads of the men, women and children of the Commune, who were massacred in droves.

"At the request of the German authorities" Who are these authorities? They are the representatives of Imperialism in Germany, they are the men who constituted the forces of the Imperial autocracy, who for four and a half years "waged war against civilization, were responsible for the murder of women and children, raped Belgium, violated all the laws of God and man, who should be extirpated and punished for their crimes." Were these statements of the press made during four and a half years against "the German authorities" true or false? If false, why the war, why all the talk of punishing the guilty and preserving civilization? And if true, how comes it that the press making these statements now wants an alliance with these very murderers, Huns, enemies of civilization?

What the press actually proposes is unity of the "makers of democracy" with the "rapers of democracy!"

But, then, the former enmity between the two must have been simply a "misunderstanding," which is immediately "made up" when danger looms from Socialism and the revolutionary proletariat.

The war, then, must have been an imperialistic war, a capitalist war: that is the only conclusion deducible from the proposals and the logic of the press. But to say, and this is precisely what the press does say, in fact, that the war was imperialistic and capitalistic, is a violation of the Espionage Act, for saying which a Socialist would be heavily punished. . . . Will the "Post" be indicted for violation of the Espionage Act? . . .

The German autocracy, which consisted not simply of the Kaiser but of the whole system comprised in "the German authorities," was indicted, and indicted justly, for being irresponsible to the will of the people, for not representing the people. But these "authorities" representing the minority have not become representatives of the majority overnight: they are still old usurpers; and if they do call in alien troops to crush the proletarian revolution, they will conclusively prove that they are a usurping minority, compelled to call in alien aid to maintain their power.

But if the Allies should, as the press proposes, do this very thing, they will fight and shed the blood of men to maintain that autocratic minority in power which they previously declared must be warred against and annihilated precisely because it was an autocratic minority. What, then, becomes of the war to make the world safe for democracy?

It is clear that the proposals of the American press are actually seditious, even bordering on treason. . . .

The press is in a peculiar pickle. When the revolutionary Socialists are reported as losing influence in Germany, the press declares that the German people must pay up to the hilt, that they must be shown no mercy, that they deserve to suffer. But when the revolutionary Socialists loom up threateningly, appear on the verge of seizing power and organizing a proletarian Soviet Republic, the press becomes sympathetic, declares that the "German people must be protected from themselves," that "crimes against civilization must be fully expiated, but civilization also hopes that the horror of anarchy may be spared Germany."

This is punctuated by sad remarks about the "chaos of a once mighty Empire:" does the capitalist press really regret the death of this Empire? Surely not, if it means Socialism!

The shameless, counter-revolutionary proposals are not the consequence of love of the German people: these "must pay." They are not the consequence of love of democracy: the cause of real democracy is lost in Germany unless the proletarian revolution conquers. They are not a consequence of horror of anarchy: Capitalism itself is one long horror of anarchy, the war itself was

anarchy and horror. No; the proposals are a consequence of the determination that Socialism shall not conquer in Germany, as it did in Russia, since that would mean the end of Capitalism everywhere within the coming ten or twenty years.

These proposals of the reactionary press are class proposals, to conserve the interests of Capitalism. There is, indeed, a tendency noticeable in the German bourgeoisie to ask the Allies to come in should the workers really seize all power, realize Socialism—precisely as the Russian bourgeoisie, through Milyukov and others, proposed that the Germans should march into Russia to restore the sacred rights of private property.

It is the class struggle; it is Capitalism against Socialism; it is a proposal to repeat the criminal murderous measures of the unity of Prussia and France against the Commune.

## Bolshevikjabs

THIS Bolshevism is a terrible thing once it gets going—even Barkeston is practising it on the hotel men.

A few days ago the workers of London decided to hold a meeting in the Albert Hall, the largest hall in the city, but the owners did not like the sentiments expressed the last time the workers met there, so they decided that such a fine building was not meant for the common herd and, in strict accordance with capitalist ethics, they intimated that they would break their contract and call the meeting off. The electricians' union decided that in such an event they would shut off the lights from the next ball scheduled at the hall and the taxi-drivers' union also threatened to boycott the building. The meeting was accordingly held. Yes, just the same sort of tactics as will free Mooney.

Mr. Walter H. Long, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking at Bristol is reported as saying that although England did not desire to enlarge her empire "he saw no alternative to the solution of the problem of the German colonies save by their inclusion in the empire" and, bearing the principle of self-determination well in mind, he continued "where the natives had been consulted they overwhelmingly favored that course."

This touching example of England's willingness to have the odds and ends of the earth thrust upon her is merely another proof of the cleansing power of democracy. If England had not become enamored of that magic word we might expect another war, along the lines of the Boer War, in which the old lion would valiantly resist all attempts to thrust fresh territory upon him.

The National Security League is out to fight Bolshevism. This is a good sign, but we hope they won't be too hard on Root.

"Nobody can or will doubt the President's sincere desire to represent American thought at Paris. The trouble is..." says The New York Times editorially and then proceeds in a full column to demonstrate the fact that it is nobody. "Open confession is good for the soul."

Jerome K. Jerome, the well-known English humorist, becomes very serious in an article to the London Daily News under the title "Wilson or Lenin?" He apparently knows that the world is feeling sick but he makes a serious mistake in his diagnosis of the case when he takes the liberal attitude that the disease is too much capitalism.

He gets very angry with the British, French and American capitalists for becoming autocrats in much the same manner as an amateur doctor might become incensed at grippe bacilli for developing into pneumonia germs.

After berating the capitalists, Mr. Jerome holds Russia up as the awful example of what happens to bad little capitalist germs who insist on developing into full grown autocrats, and, in common with his school of quacks, he advocates the application of palliatives that will stop their growth.

The real disease is capitalism, not too much capitalism, and the only treatment that will save the patient is an operation. Wilson is a physician; Lenin is a surgeon.

Frederick William Hohenzollern is quoted as saying "I have not renounced anything. . . ." In other words "Having nothing to renounce, I renounce nothing" which seems to us to be a very fair position from a philosophical standpoint.

It looks very much as if Chili was going to give the lie to all this talk about "the last war."